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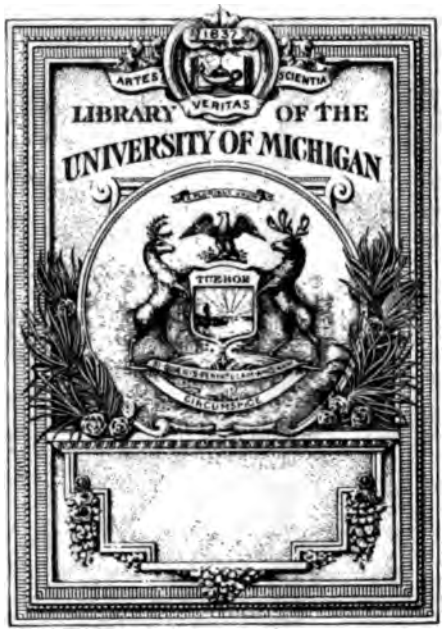

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AN INTRODUCTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN LITERATURE

THE stories of three discoveries made in connection with the ancient world match in their uniqueness any literary inventions of the human mind; the tale of Egyptian regeneration, the record of the Babylonian and Assyrian resurrection, and the chronicle of the refinding of Crete. For many years the first of these held sway over the interests and the imagination of students and readers. It was the earliest in the field, — Champollion wrote his celebrated "Lettre à Monsieur S. Dacies" in 1822; and through the politics of Napoleon, Egypt had been brought prominently within the circle of European concern. It was the first glimpse had by the thoughtful world into a past beyond that of Greece and Palestine; and the novelty of it all stung to the quick the imagination of thoughtful readers as well as of students. The strange hieroglyphics had yielded up their secrets; the picture writing on the wall, on stone and wood, and on textile had been made responsive; the halo of the Nile had cast its spell over those that had approached it, and antiquarians reveled in the wealth of old things upturned.

Upon the other hand, our knowledge of Cretan civilization is so new and so fragmentary that one hardly dare speak of it in the same breath with Egyptian and Babylonian affairs; but as Mr. Evans' confrères give out more and more of its sealed wisdom, an equally astonishing vista is opened to us of an old European civilization standing at the gateway that leads to the East and which may be either the pre- or the after-lude of that eastern world.

Between the older interest in Egypt and the younger in Crete stands that in Babylonia and Assyria. The interest in these two countries had been upheld continuously because of frequent references to them in the Bible. Egypt had, it is true, a similar association; but apart from the sojourn there of the Children of Israel and their Exodus, references to that country in prophet, psalmist, and historian are few in number. On the other hand, the older part of the scene upon which the tragic history of the People of the Book was enacted, lay just in the country "between the two rivers." Paradise — the earthly one — was situated there; and when one thought of the country one remembered the expulsion from that scene of idyllic delights, the first attempts of man to conform himself to the needs of a non-Paradise world, the early history of the Hebrews there, the many interests that in later time dragged the Assyrian plowshare over the ground of Palestine and finally the

settlement in that land of sufficient numbers of Jews so as to make long-lived settlements there.

What had become of that country? Strange as it may seem, nearly every vestige of its once pulsating life had been covered up and hidden. Where were the great cities of Nineveh and Babylon? Where were their palaces, their streets, their dwelling places? The very talkative Xenophon — who lived within a couple of hundred years of Nineveh's downfall — passed over where the city had been. He has absolutely nothing to say about it; he did not even notice the vestiges of a city there. The truth is that after the fall of the Assyrian empire, when the Scythian hordes, with a ruthlessness equaled only in the twentieth century, destroyed the cities and ruined the temples, the sand of the desert was piled up by the wind upon these ruins and completely covered their traces. Since 606 B. C. they had lain there waiting their earthly resurrection.

But the same wind that had blown the sand upon these ruins was apt, also, to blow it off again. Travellers in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought back tales of walls uncovered here, of streets disclosed there. They told of strange characters which they could not read engraven upon rocks and bricks, — and of buildings, the meanings of which passed their comprehension. To the more serious minded among them there was evidence on every hand of an advanced civilization; and some pokings into these ruins gave the clue to the nomad Arabs in the region to get bricks and household vessels from the many "tells" (mounds) that covered the whole district. But, while the topical study of this ancient habitat was going apace, the scholarly world was ashamed to confess that the inscriptions and writings to be seen upon the walls and upon the most varied objects remained unreadable. It was not until the nineteenth century that the erudite Georg Friedrich Grotefend (1802) discovered the key to a later product of this group that had been found in the ruins of Persepolis, capital of the ancient kingdom of Persia; and it was hoped that, working backwards, it might be possible to unravel the mysteries of the older Assyria and Babylonia. Such a hope was well justified, — nor was it belied. The Persepolis inscriptions, quite evidently, were in three different languages, represented by three different kinds of one and the same script; the first was the language used by the old Persian builders of the palaces; the third was known, from a comparison with the inscriptions found in the ruins of Babylon, to be Babylonian; while the second has been called by various names, — Median, "Scythian, Susian, Amardian, Elamitic, Anzanian and Neo-Susian."

But, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, a young English

officer, forced by his military duties, to live in the mountains of Persia — the later Sir Henry Rawlinson — had been working upon exactly the same lines as had Grotefend, though the one was quite unknown to the other. He had succeeded in deciphering a good part of the tri-lingual inscription of Darius "the great" upon the rocks of Behistun, his work being completed by the Irishman Hincks and the Frenchman Oppert.

It needed nothing more than this beginning to start the deciphering of all the inscriptions so far known. And with this deciphering there grew up the added interest in all that had taken place in this land of the two rivers, — interest to students of archaeology, of history, of religion, of literature, and of economics. Not only did many individual explorers spend their time going down into the earth in search of further knowledge concerning these interesting lands; but, beginning with the year 1842, a series of expeditions has been sent from various countries which have uncovered a good deal of ground in Mesopotamia and which give indication of what may still be found when archaeological work there will once more be possible. Such were the French expedition under Botta in that year; the English under Layard, 1845–50; a second French one under Place, 1851–55; a third French one under Oppert, 1852–54; English ones again under Taylor in 1854, under Loftus, under Sir Henry Rawlinson, under George Smith in 1873, and under Hormuzd Rassam in 1878; a fourth French one under de Sarzec in 1876; an American one under John P. Peters of the University of Pennsylvania in 1887, which was prolonged during four different campaigns until 1900; and finally the important German ones carried on during the first fourteen years of the present century (1902+). A really tremendous mass of material has been gotten in this manner, — tablets, brick, statues, utensils of all sorts, etc., etc.; and the bringing of this material to Europe and America has set an array of students at work which, regarding its number and its achievements, may well vie with those of any other branch of human learning.

It is certainly not overstepping the mark to say that the deciphering and understanding of all this material have revolutionized many of our theories and notions connected with antiquity in general and with the past of the Semitic lands in particular. It has been well said that "when history commenced, the inhabitants of Babylonia were already highly civilized," i. e., when, according to our notion the early life of peoples began a widely and deeply developed civilization already existed in Babylonia, which forces us to put the beginnings of things very much further back than we had ever imagined.

It is not only in its extension that this knowledge is so valuable. It is equally so in its perfectness and thoroughness. We have vastly more of the

actual implements, the actual and the spiritual life of these ancient peoples, than we have of the Greeks and Romans. The materials that the peoples in Mesopotamia used were so much more durable and were so much better preserved by the dryness of the climate that this was bound to occur, even if no stories concerning the libraries in Babylonia and Assyria similar to those told about the libraries of Alexandria have come down to us. In Mesopotamia there existed no papyrus plant as there did in Egypt. The use of vellum was entirely unknown. But there were unending amounts of fine clay, — especially in the more southern portions of the land. People bent down and took this clay, fashioning it into tablets of very varying size upon which they impressed with a three cornered stylus their writing which, in course of time had developed from a poor picture script into one composed of wedge marks indented in various directions and from which the script takes its name "cuneiform." These tablets were dried either in the sun or in a kiln; and when the latter course obtained, they became practically indestructible except through malice and with intent. As I have said, such tablets were of every form, — square, oblong and round; the smallest less than an inch square, the largest as much as fifteen inches. For works of a more important character the clay was fashioned into other and various forms, — into cylinders, into pentagonal, heptagonal, octagonal or decagonal prisms and the like. Nor were these peoples content with writing upon clay only. They made use of stone also, upon which one is tempted to say they also wrote; for upon all buildings which kings and rulers erected they managed to put somehow or somewhere a record of their doings, — not only upon the bricks with which the building was erected, but also upon the slabs of stone used and upon the bulls that so often decorated the entrances to such buildings. And so intent were they that the knowledge of their greatness should descend to the ears of future generations that they buried the accounts of their doings — we should often call them misdoings — in the corner-stones of such buildings, so that they have come down to us exactly in the state in which they were inserted.

From Babylonia this system of writing extended into most of the surrounding countries. So extensive have been the finds that we can look into the house and street life of the inhabitants. We have their letters, their schoolbooks, their school slates (if I may use such a term), their reports, personal and official, and hundreds of thousands of their accounts. We get into intimate connection with them in their daily life and have no need to rely upon the vague and uncertain reports that have come down to us from other and stranger sources.

More than this, we have recovered a part of their vast literature, — per-

haps only a small part, but yet one that shows us how much stock they laid upon literary expression and how prominent a part it must have played among the better portion of the population. Even collections of documents were not unknown; often we find them hoarded together in the excavations made; and one king at least went further and brought together a library of the literary productions of his people. His name was Assurbanipal. He ruled about the year 668 B. C. How many sided this literature was may be seen at a glance; much of it was in poetic form, the metres of which we are just beginning to understand. Thus we have the various creation and cosmology myths, — in which many scholars see the background for the story of the creation in our Bible; the myth of Adapa, which belongs to the same category as our story of Adam and Eve in Paradise; the wonderful Gilgamesh epic in twelve tablets with its story of the Deluge and which is undoubtedly the original of our Biblical poem; the tale of the descent of Ishtar, the goddess of love, to Hades, the land of the dead, in search of Tammuz, the beloved of her youth. Then we have large collections of hymns, prayers, — beautiful in expression and so often beautiful in thought that we are unconsciously led to think of the Hebrew Psalms. We have also incantations to the various gods and goddesses, on a lower level of theology than the preceding, but evidence of the immense and strong hold religion has always had upon the peoples of the near-east. Some fragments even of wisdom literature and of ethical considerations have come down to us which show that ethical vision was not unknown to these ancients.

Perhaps even more important in many ways is the historical and judicial literature, which must have been of very large extent and a goodly share of which has been saved for us, so that we may read and study it at our leisure. The historical literature is of various kinds, beginning with ordinary building inscriptions and display inscriptions on rocks, through the elaborate annals prepared by each king, up to a set of chronicles, and even what has well been termed a synchronous history of the country. Actual annals seem to commence with the fourteenth century B. C.; though we have reliable historical data that go back to the first dynasty of Babylon, ca. 2500 B. C. Yet even this is not the oldest point upon which we can fix our gaze. Relying upon a statement made by a late Babylonian king, Nabunaid (which need not be questioned), we know that he discovered in the year 550 B. C. a foundation stone of a very early king, which stone takes us back into the fifth millennium B. C.

That these historical writings were regarded also from a literary point of view is evident from their wording and from the general form in which they are couched. Yet another intent ran through their composition, which intent is just as self-evident. They were meant to laud the kings who had

them written and to elevate in men's minds the dynasties to which these kings belonged. Accordingly at times they lack complete truth, as surely as do many historical documents of our very own days. A son will take upon his brow some of the glories that ought to rest upon that of his father. Battles, revolutions — of which we know from other sources — will be concealed; and, as regards the numbers slain or prisoners taken in a battle, an Assyrian king is just as liable to prate unduly as is his modern counterpart. The various editions through which some of the annals have passed — editions which have come down to us — clearly show the accumulations gathered by the roadside. Prof. Olmstead, in his interesting study of Assyrian Historiography, says: "But what shall we say as to the accuracy of numbers in our documents when one edition gives the total slain in a battle as 14,000, another as 20,500, the next as 25,000, and the last as 29,000?... What shall we say when we find that the reviser has transformed a booty of 1,235 sheep in his original into a booty of 100,125?... So when Sennacharib tells us that he took from little Judah no less than 200,150 prisoners, and that in spite of the fact that Jerusalem itself was not captured, we may deduct the 200,000 as a product of the fancy of the Assyrian scribe, accept the 150 as somewhere near the actual number captured and carried off." Both Babylonia and Assyria were not less human than our modern Europeans!

As important as is the historical is the law literature of these old peoples. I do not refer simply to records of legal decisions, nor to business contracts, properly attested, signed and sealed, just as we write them to-day, revealing an evident love and desire that the forms of law should be duly and properly remembered. I am referring to laws specified and ordered and set out in proper and technical form. Fragments of such laws were found in the great collection at the British Museum, and published by Meissner in 1890. In 1892 he published further some old "private laws" of Babylon and concluded from internal reasons that they went back to some earlier code which Delitzsch, from historical considerations, connected with the greatest of the older Babylonian kings, Hammurabi, who lived somewhere in the neighborhood of the year 2260 B. C. The story continues to be as interesting as many such stories are. Some few years later — in December, 1901 — De Morgan, excavating at Susa, the ancient capital of Persia, came upon three large fragments of a block of black diorite, forming a quarter part of a stele that must have been some 2.25 metres in height. At the top of one side was a representation of this very king Hammurabi — of whom Delitzsch had thought — receiving a code of laws from the seated sun-god Shamash, much in the same fashion as the ancient Hebrews believed their Moses had received one from Jehovah.

Then followed a judicial code which, when complete, is estimated to have contained "forty-nine columns of four thousand lines and about eight thousand words." Another scholar, Scheil, soon found that the fragments published by Meissner were in reality portions of the code copied from this very stele.

The story connected with this find is not only interesting as one of discovery. — the stele had been captured when the old Elamites made a raid upon Babylon and carried it off from the temple of Marduk in which it stood to their own city of Susa, where it waited some 4,000 years to be excavated by the Frenchmen who set it up in Paris. It is a great landmark in the history of civilization. The code deals with all possible relations of life in a sober and most enlightened manner. Not without reason has it been called "the oldest code of laws in the world." This in itself is of moment; but, when we consider also that it bears definite relation to the code of Moses, we can see that the Pentateuchal laws did not stand alone in ancient times, but that they were part and parcel of a system of law which the near-east had developed at so early a date as this. In one of his closing paragraphs, King Hammurabi says: "In the days that are to come, for ever and ever, the king who is in the land shall attend to the words of righteousness which I have written upon my monument... He shall rule his subjects, pronounce judgment, give decisions, drive the wicked and evil doers from the land, and promote his people's prosperity." And then he proceeds to call down the curses of all the great gods and goddesses upon such as should "not heed his words"...curses which have a very ominous sound just at this moment of the world's history.

The influence of Babylonia and of Assyria is seen not only in the state power that they built up, but in the fact that it was they and not their competitors the Egyptians who furnished the international script for the hither-Asia of those days. This is clearly proven by the individual cuneiform documents found in various mounds in Palestine, at Tell-el-Hesy (Lachish) by Bliss in 1891, at Taanak by Sellin in 1902, at Gezer by Macalister in 1904; and most especially by the great find in 1888 at Tell-el-Amarna in Egypt. At this last place more than three hundred tablets were discovered by a woman hunting for antiques in what had been the palace of the great heretic king Amenophis the Fourth (ca. 14 B. C.). Unfortunately their importance was not recognized at the moment, and they journeyed several times between Cairo and the chief capitals of Europe. Many were destroyed, some were intentionally broken up to be sold to tourists and finally about three hundred, more or less damaged, went to grace public and private collections. The importance of these tablets will be recognized when it is remembered that they contain the correspondence of governors sent by Amenophis the Third

and the Fourth to rule over Palestine, Phenicia and Syria at the very time when the Hittites and the Khabiri (by some supposed to be the Hebrews) were breaking up this great colonial empire of Egypt in the north.

The influence of these Assyrians had proceeded even further up into Asia Minor into that part which was afterwards known as Cappadocia. In their attempts to found a Pan-Assyrian empire the kings ruling at Nineveh had planted their armies up to the Aegean Sea, — just as their regal vanity has left the signs of their coming upon the rocks overlooking the Sea and the Mediterranean. Yet, though they did not succeed, their cultural influence did extend into Asia Minor, into the very centre of the important Hittite power. Not only are there tablets from Arzawa in the Tell-el-Amarna group, but a number have been found also in Kara-Üjük and in Boghaz Koi (1600 B. C.); which shows us that by the side of the real Hittite script used by rulers for inscriptional and adornment purposes, the script of Assyria was the medium of intercourse in the Hittite country itself. Who these Hittites were we do not know exactly as yet. They have left us in southern Syria a large number of royal inscriptions carved on stone — for the most part in relief — in a hieroglyphic script, the key to which, strangely, has not yet been found. That these Hittites were of importance, that they represented a power which both Egypt and Assyria had to count and were so often at odds with, — of all this there can be no doubt. They are first mentioned on Egyptian inscriptions coming from the eighteenth dynasty (1503–1449 B. C.); and they disquieted the Egyptian colonial power by continually pressing forward from Cappadocia. From all that we know we can say that at an early date they formed a large empire extending from the Orontes to the Aegean Sea; and just as they had come into contact with the Egyptians to the south, so also they collided with the Assyrians when later they endeavored to push their arms too far towards the west. From what has just been said it will be seen that much remains in doubt in regard to these Hittites, — concerning their racial and historical connections. But still greater doubt attaches itself to the particular portion of the Hittite people who were called in the inscriptions Mitanni. They also came into conflict with the Egyptians; and in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets we have despatches that passed between them and the Hittite kings. The mystery becomes still deeper when we find that the names of the six Mitanni kings which have been handed down to us are all difficult of connection philologically with Semitic roots, but bear a strange likeness to Aryan ones. If we add to this that among the divinities of these peoples were such Aryan gods as Indra, Varuna and Mythra, we are led to conclude that we are here dealing with Aryan rather than with a Semitic people. The future that lies upon the lap

of the gods must instruct us on our way through these intricacies of fact and through these dilemmas of explanation.

Of all these varied interests — private, collective and state — the works and articles listed in the following catalogue treat. It will be seen at a glance that the collection is a comprehensive one and — so far as is humanly possible — a pretty complete one; and yet not so complete as the Library authorities will have wished. Naturally, since the middle of 1914, the quiet intercourse of libraries and booksellers, as well as of scholars, has been wofully disturbed. Recent publications in the enemy countries and in the semi-enemy lands are entirely absent, — if any have been brought out. For that the Library is not responsible; where that responsibility lies it is not for the writer to say at this place.

The excellences of the catalogue — and I trust that it has some — are due to the untiring, painstaking and accurate work of my assistant, Miss Pratt, to whom I wish in this somewhat public manner to express my thanks.

— Richard Gottheil.

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